1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 867

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[text continues top of p. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. 861 155

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1915:155).

Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first, soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 1970

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [345] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [341] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

A munchu was made up of a number of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one. Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These customs were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegusuku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas. These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it preserves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Oushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

"Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

212 177 829 [571] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world. 858 171 198

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education. 858 197 198 [196]

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart. 867

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as 861

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427